

The mainstreaming of the far right: populism, racism and 'the people'

Aurelien Mondon

Populism, populism, POPULISM!

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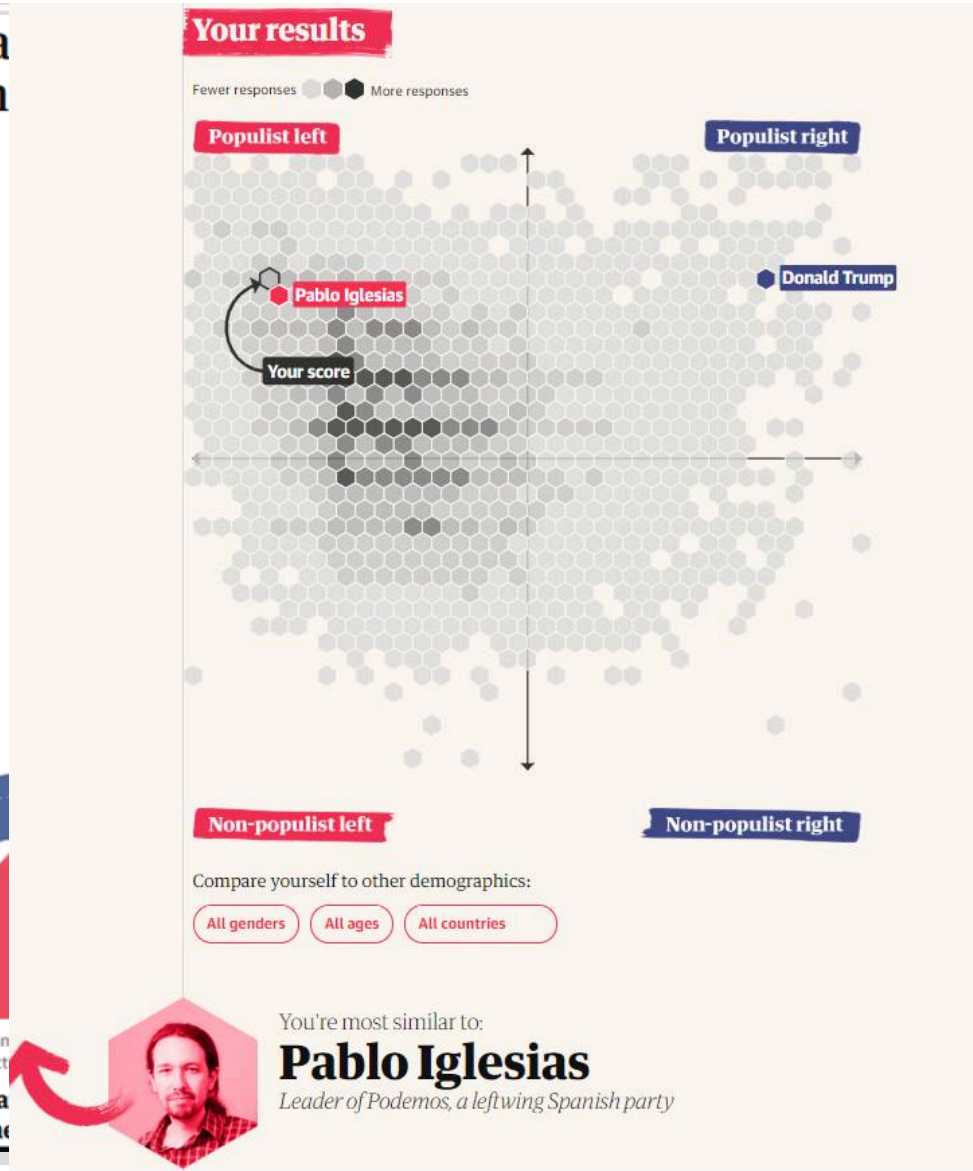
Steve Bannon 'I want to d
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London The Mayfair dinn
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Bannon's Europe plan A
countries

▲ Hillary Clin
Trump's elect

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populism. In

20 years

idesz party. Composite: The Guardian

What is populism the name of?

‘The most important aspect in a scientific interpretation is not to baptise or ‘debaptise’ the observed phenomena; it is to make intelligible the processes that created and allowed to exist the diverse social institutions’ (Collovald, 2004)



Populism?

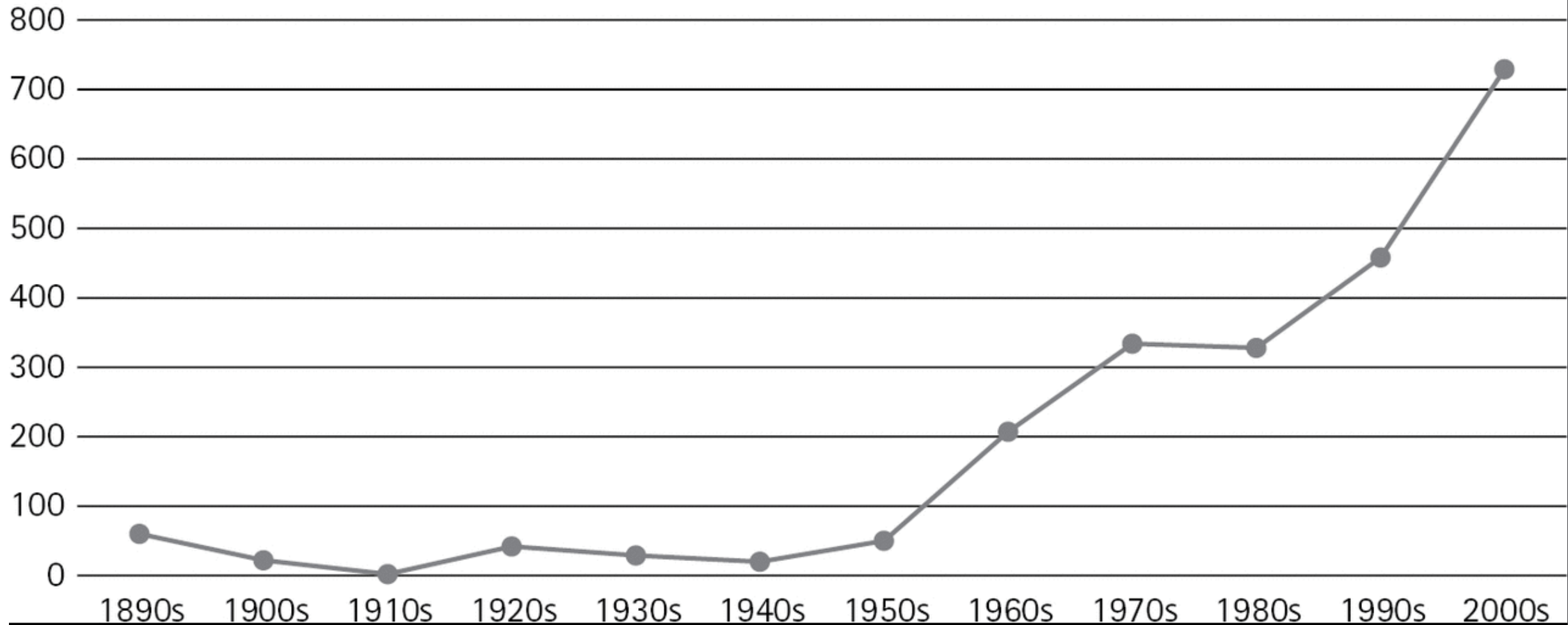


Fig. 1.1 Number of books in English in which the word “populism” or “populist” appears in the title (absolute number per decade) (Oxford Handbook of Populism).

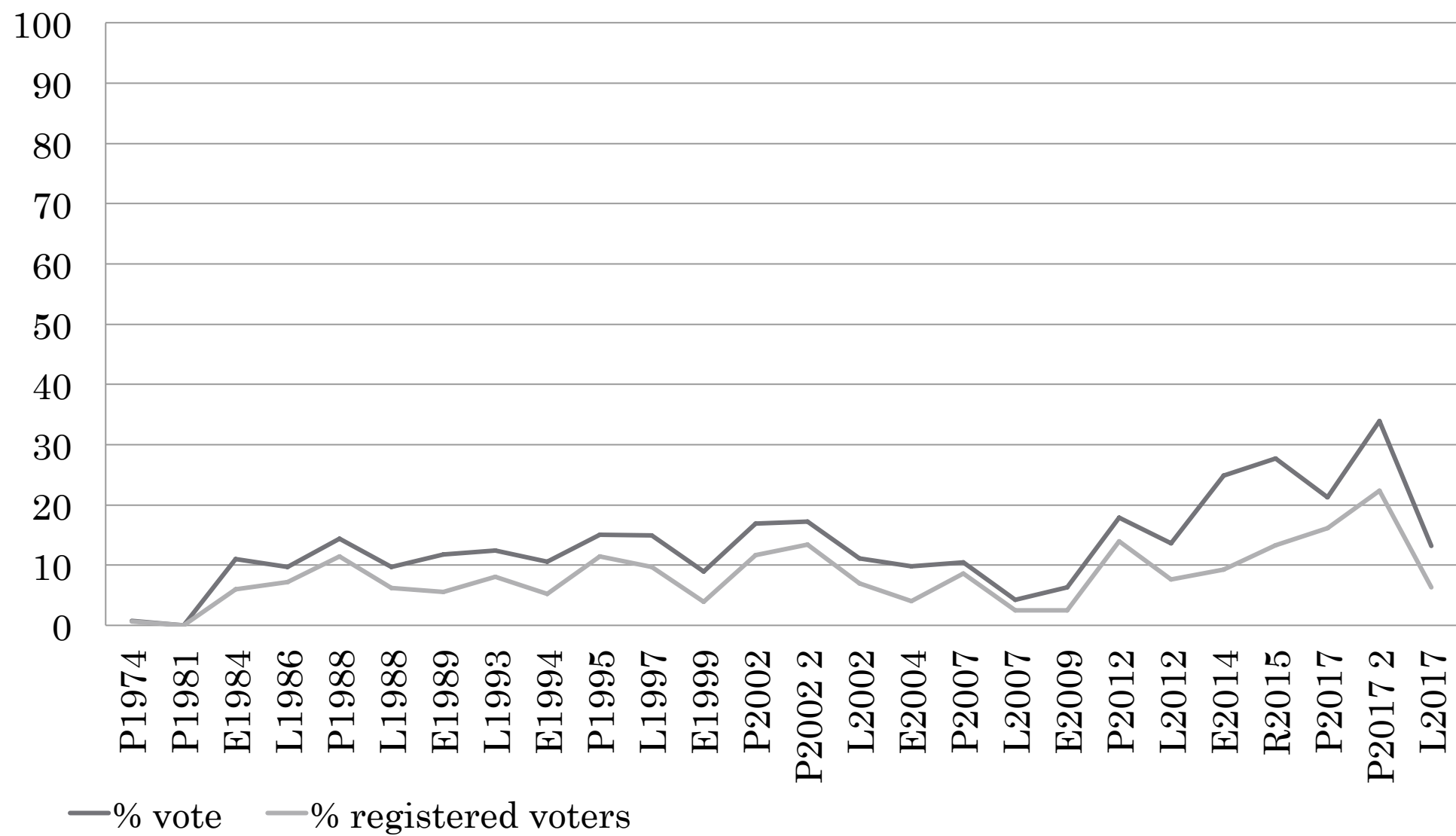
An ideology or a discourse? And why does that matter?



The Front National and the populist hype



40 years of Front National...



The populist hype and Populism as the ‘voice of the people’?

Why is populism suddenly all the rage?

In 1998, about 300 Guardian articles mentioned populism. In 2016, 2,000 did. What happened?

● **Revealed: how populists tripled their vote over 20 years**

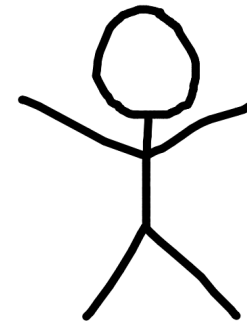
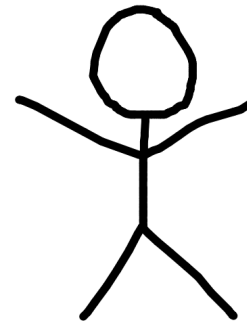
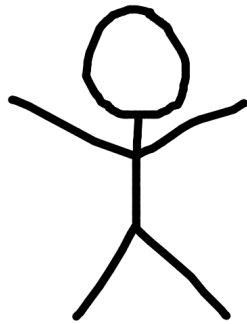
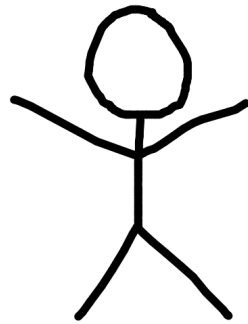
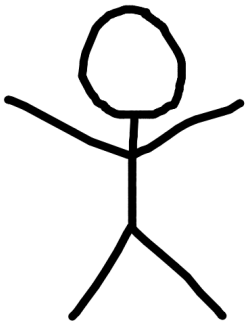
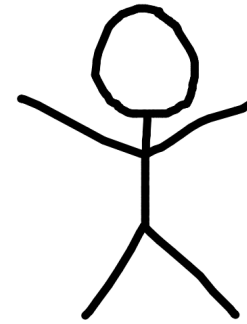
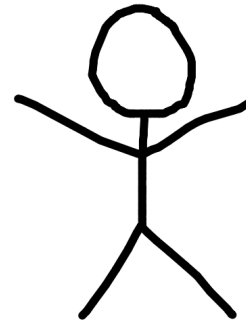


▲ Viktor Orbán, the Hungarian prime minister and leader of the far-right Fidesz party. Composite: The Guardian Design Team

Brexit and Trump as (white) working-class populist revolts?



Absent abstention



BREXIT, 'THE WORKING CLASS REVOLUTION' AND 'THE PEOPLE'S ARMY'

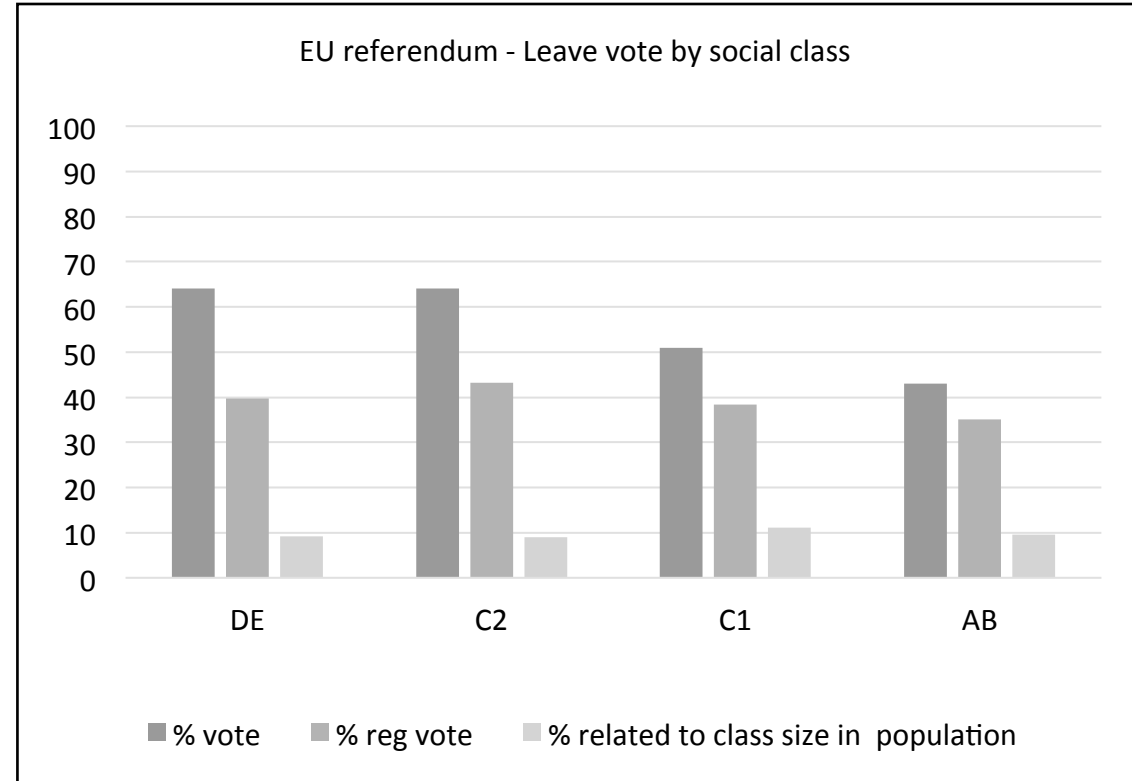


FIGURE 1: Leave vote per social class. Source (Lord Ashcroft 24 June 2016, Ipsos Mori 2015, Mondon 2017)

Trump and ‘the revolt of the masses’

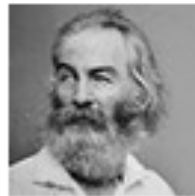
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The New York Times

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OP-ED CONTRIBUTORS
The Abortion Case That's
Really About the First
Amendment



DAVID BROOKS
What Holds America
Together



PAUL KRUGMAN
Trump and Trade and
Zombies

Opinion | OP-ED COLUMNIST

Revolt of the Masses



David Brooks JUNE 28, 2016

Misusing class and its implications (1)

It racialises the working class as white and pits an elusive 'white working class' against minorities and immigrants, who are denied working class status, in a competition for scarce, deregulated and casualised employment and ever dwindling resources in neo-liberal Britain and America.



Misusing class and its implications (2)

It constructs the 'white working class' as privileging their racial interests above class ones and as being racist, which results in the very stigma and criticism right-wing populist and libertarian advocates, who are themselves often elites, claim they oppose.



Misusing class and its implications (3)

It normalises and mainstreams racism in both discourse and practice by claiming it is a popular demand, thus legitimising hate crimes and the rise in far right activity.



Misusing class and its implications (4)

In addition to not addressing the inequality faced by 'white' working class people, it exacerbates the inequality and vulnerability faced by racialised and migrant working class peoples and actually serves establishment political and economic interests.



Immigration is lowest concern on young voters' Brexit list

British voters: Fears over impacts on public services

was commissioned by former Tory treasurer Lord Ashcroft

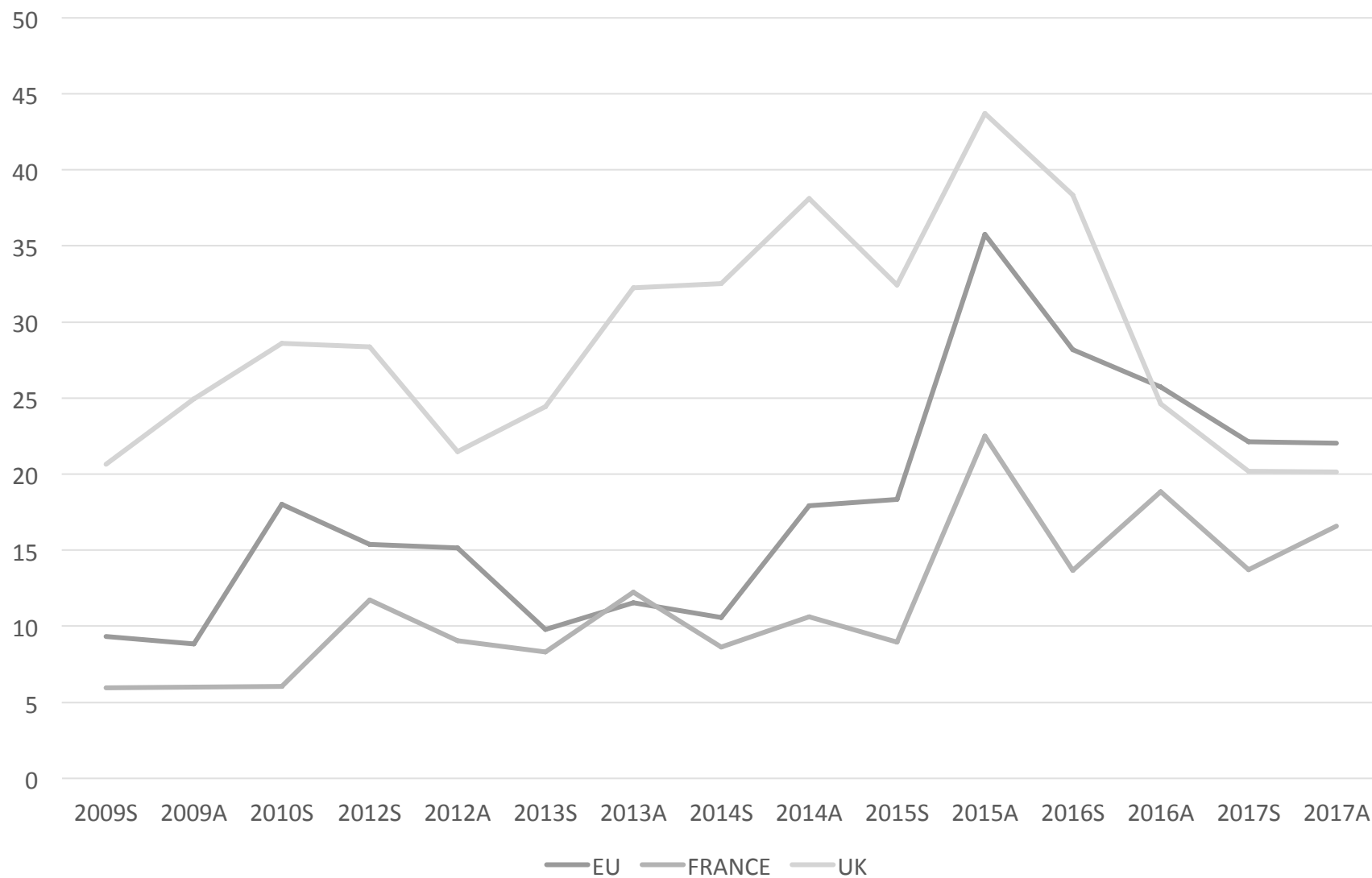
1 six believe advantages of immigration outweigh the disadvantages

01:41, 2 September 2013 | **UPDATED:** 08:37, 2 September 2013

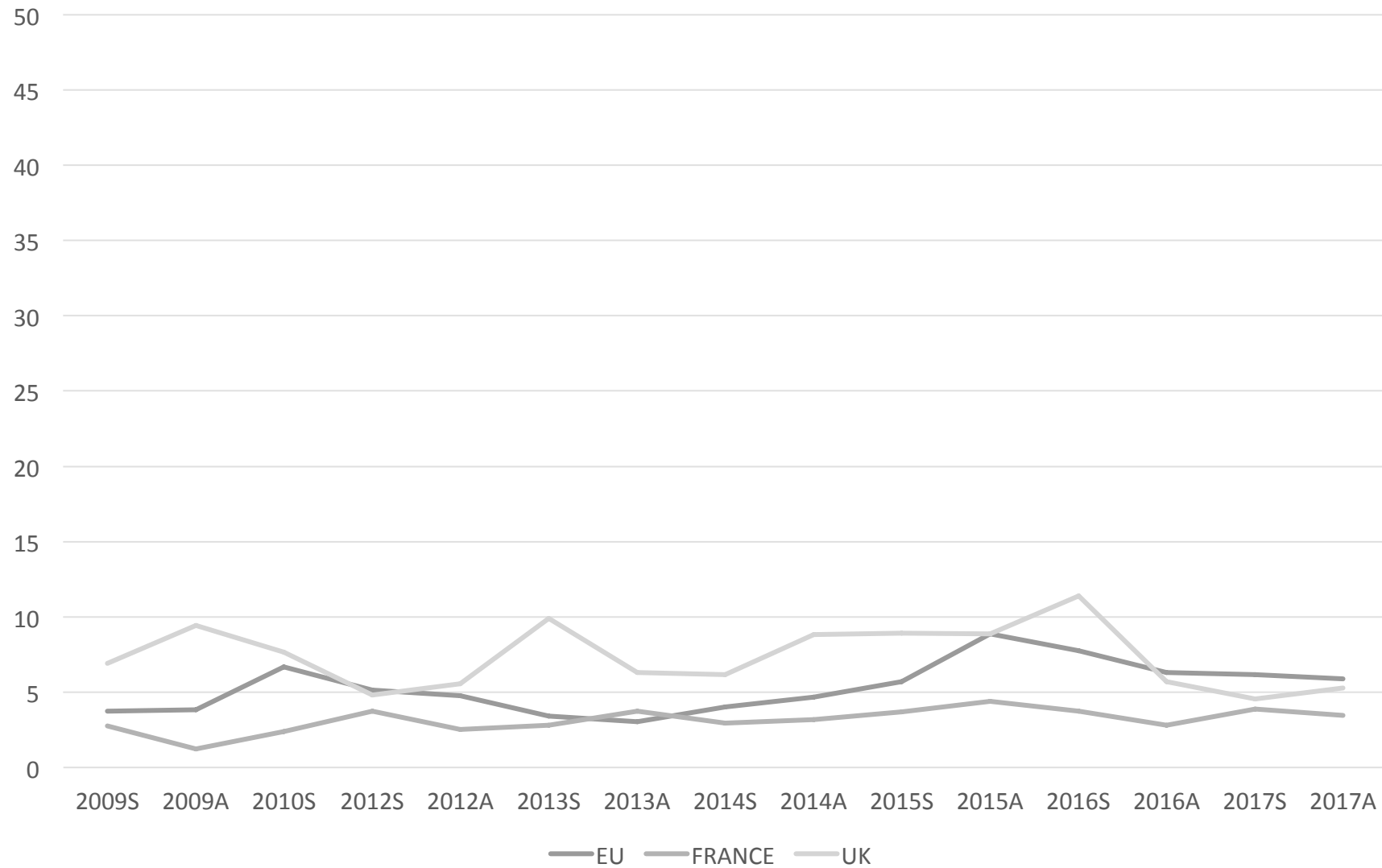
reveals flood of low skilled workers is

action against the forms of immigration which
ows a new report by academics from Oxford





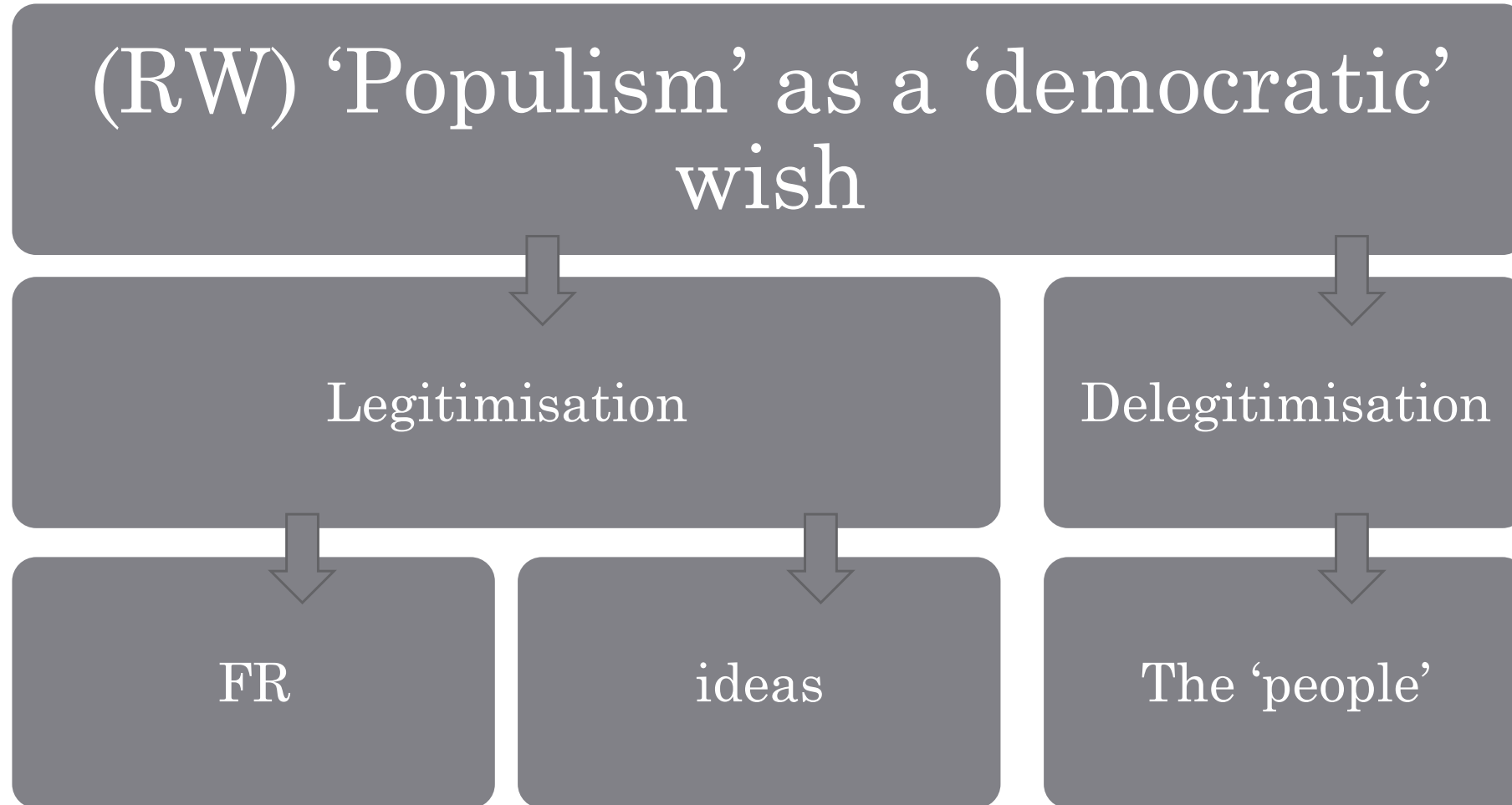
What do you think are the two most important issues facing (OUR COUNTRY) at the moment?
(Source: Eurobarometer). S = spring, A = autumn



And personally, what are the two most important issues you are facing at the moment? (Source: Eurobarometer). S = spring, A = autumn

So what?

The consequences of the populist hype



The populist hype

Real symptom, wrong diagnosis

Yes, the populist far right is performing well (although unevenly)...

... But, it is only a symptom of the crisis in our democracies

